

**ADAM WALASZEK**

Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora  
Jagiellonian University in Kraków

## **PORTUGUESE AND POLISH MIGRATIONS: SOME PRELIMINARY COMPARATIVE REMARKS (16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY UNTIL 1939)**

Long voyages, encounters with different civilizations have become inherent parts of Portuguese history and identity. Today at school children still read the 16<sup>th</sup> century epic work by Luís Vaz de Camões *Os Lusíadas*, which talks about Portuguese explorations in the world and Vasco da Gama's journey. The epic's heroes – pushed by grease! – boldly sailed on unknown waters.<sup>1</sup> Migration topics have been present in the works of Fernando Pessoa (who as a child himself lived in South Africa, and spent some time in Goa). For Fernando Pessoa or Aquilino Ribeiro the migrant became an archetype of Portuguese society and the country's culture.<sup>2</sup>

In the Polish culture and literature works written during the period of Great Emigration still have an indelible stamp. Their messages differ from the Portuguese ones – and stress tragedy. Literary works have glorified martyrdom and heroism of the constant struggle for the country's independence. Polish literary works carry only several traces of labor migrations. The ones which exist are artistically mediocre, and – now – basically forgotten. They were interventionist in nature, shown and proved the dramatic fate of labor migrants.<sup>3</sup> In the 1870s, emigration from Polish lands was described and

---

<sup>1</sup> *Luzjady*, trans. I. Kania, after M. Ferro, *Historia kolonializmu*, trans. M. Czajka, Nowa Marianna, Warszawa 1997, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> D. Higgs, *Introduction*, [in:] *idem* (ed.), *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective*, The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto 1990, p. 1; *idem*, *Portuguese Migration before 1880*, [in:] *idem* (ed.), *Portuguese Migration...*, pp. 7–8; C.B. Brettell, *Leaving, Remaining, and Returning: The Multifaceted Portuguese Migratory System*, [in:] D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Por. A. Mocyk, *Piekło czy raj? Obraz Brazylii w piśmiennictwie polskim w latach 1864–1939*, Universitas, Kraków 2005; B. Klimaszewski, *Pod znakiem potu, lez i dolara. Polonia amerykańska w zwierciadle literatury polskiej*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1990, Rozprawy Habilitacyjne no. 208.

evaluated as: "Misdemeanor, desertion from the place, only in the very exceptional cases it was a necessity" (Józef Ignacy Kraszewski).<sup>4</sup> Emigrants' fate was depicted as, "extremely hard, horrible [...] a description of it would be an epos of human misery."<sup>5</sup> Images of life in Brazil aimed to horrify readers. In one poem, a person who met migrants on a Brazilian road said: "Was it illness that attracted you here? I can see, you are the wisest in this group. So I am telling you: you're sinking into hell!"<sup>6</sup>

"Immigration, by its transnational nature, lends itself to comparisons," wrote Catherine Collomp.<sup>7</sup> Let us have a look at the historical migration experiences of two nations, which seem to carry some common elements. A comparative analysis, adopting the linear, convergent and divergent models was recommended by Nancy L. Green some twenty years ago.<sup>8</sup> The following text will apply to what N.L. Green has referred to as the convergent model:

Portuguese expansion and the formation of the diaspora developed in three phases. During the first one Portugal built its "trade/colonial empire" outside Europe. The second phase David Higgs called the "staples empire," the third one the "emigrant empire."<sup>9</sup> This periodization can be applied to the description of the Polish case as well.<sup>10</sup>

### Portuguese Trade Empire and Polish Colonialism?

After the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, in search for new roads to the Levant, the Portuguese turned to the Atlantic islands. In 1420, they landed and colonized the uninhabited Madeira archipelago and built the Arguín fort in Mauretania in 1448. Trade and military posts were created in the south, in the Bay of Benin (1482). In 1487, the Portuguese reached the Cape of Good Hope, thus opening the way to India. Vasco da Gama sailed to the Coast of Malabar. Trading and military posts in India and Macau became the most valuable gains. Other posts were created in East Africa, on the East China Sea, in Japan and Indonesia. Gold, pepper, cinnamon, other spices, porcelain and slaves were brought to Europe.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Quoted after M. Micińska, *Zdrada córka nocy. Pojęcie zdrady narodowej w świadomości Polaków w latach 1861–1914*, Sic!, Warszawa 1998, p. 178.

<sup>5</sup> H. Sienkiewicz, *Listy z podróży do Ameryki*, quoted after: B. Klimaszewski, *Pod znakiem...*, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> M. Konopnicka, *Pan Balcer w Brazylii*, Warszawa 1910, p. 100, quoted after: A. Mocyk, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>7</sup> C. Collomp, *Immigrants, Labor Markets, and the State, a Comparative Approach: France and the United States, 1880–1930*, "The Journal of American History," vol. 86, no. 1, 1999, p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> N.L. Green, *The Comparative Method and Poststructural Structuralism: New Perspectives for Migration Studies*, [in:] J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Peter Lang, Berne 1997, pp. 57–72; A. Walaszek, *Migracje, Polonia, Diaspora i metoda porównawcza*, "Historyka," vol. 27, 1997, pp. 31–44.

<sup>9</sup> D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>10</sup> N.L. Green, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> In Polish literature comp. M. Małowist, *Europa a Afryka Zachodnia w dobie wczesnej ekspansji kolonialnej*, PWN, Warszawa 1969; J. Kieniewicz, *Faktoria i forteca. Handel pieprzem na Ocea-*

*Fidalgos* living in ruined properties in Europe discovered their chance in the ocean expansion. Since the time of Henry the Sailor, profits helped the Crown and people directly engaged in the ocean exchange<sup>12</sup> (the *déclassé* nobles hoped to enlarge the Kingdom of Christ as well).<sup>13</sup> The population of Portugal doubled between the 16<sup>th</sup> century and 1640. However, due to migrations, the country “lost” 280,000 people between 1500 and 1580.

Two thirds of the emigrants heading to African and Asian shores arrived from northern Portugal (some were “new Christians,” converted Jews, and played a significant role in the empire as merchants, trading minerals, diamonds, slaves).<sup>14</sup> During the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, half of Madeira’s population originated in the provinces of Braga, Viana de Castelo and Porto.<sup>15</sup> The situation was similar in the Azores, Cape Verde Islands and St. Thomas and Principe.<sup>16</sup>

Trading posts in Asia and Africa needed merchants, administrators, sailors, clerks. In the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century approximately 10,000 Portuguese lived between Ormuz and Nagasaki. Later, between 1612 and 1732, 20,000 people migrated from Portugal each year.<sup>17</sup>

In 1500, the Portuguese expedition reached a new territory. Sailing to India, Pedro Álvares Cabral mistakenly turned south and discovered the Land of the Holy Cross. Until 1530s, the land – Brazil – was not of big interest for Portugal. It was later valued for its teak tree, used for the construction of Portuguese ships. Portugal started to send settlers, who populated coastal lands, to Brazil.<sup>18</sup>

---

*nie Indyjskim i ekspansja portugalska w XVI w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1970; also Ph. Curtin, *Migration in the Tropical World*, [in:] V. Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York–Oxford 1990, p. 26; E. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1982, p. 129.

<sup>12</sup> In the long perspective both Spanish and Portuguese colonial expansion not necessarily had positive effects: in both countries it slowed their internal development, rather other regions profited from the trans-Atlantic trade: M. Małowist, *Europa Wschodnia i kraje iberyjskie, podobieństwa i kontrasty*, [in:] *idem, Europa i jej ekspansja XIV–XVII w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1993, pp. 138–141; *idem, Konkwistadorzy portugalscy*, PIW, Warszawa 1976, pp. 12–13; S. Grzybowski, *Wędrowni ludów w epoce nowożytnej*, [in:] M. Salamon, J. Strzelczyk (eds.), *Wędrowni i etnogeneza w starożytności i średniowieczu*, Historia Iagiellonica, Kraków 2004, p. 434.

<sup>13</sup> M. Ferro, *op.cit.*, pp. 12, 19–20, 51.

<sup>14</sup> F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century*, vol. 2: *The Wheels of Commerce*, Harper and Row, Cambridge 1979, pp. 160–163.

<sup>15</sup> D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> H. Pietschmann, *Spain and Portugal*, [in:] K.J. Bade, P.C. Emmer, L. Lucassen, J. Oltmer (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, pp. 9–11; S. Grzybowski, *op.cit.*, p. 433; F. Braudel, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 211–212, 273.

<sup>18</sup> D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, p. 9; D. Knauf, *To Govern is to Populate! Migration to Latin America*, [in:] D. Knauf, B. Moreno (eds.), *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*, Temmen, Bremen 2010, p. 142.

\*

Polish historian Marian Małowist asked whether the expansion of the Polish Noble Republic during the 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries to the east, could be compared to Portuguese colonization in the south and in Asia.<sup>19</sup> Certainly, the movement changed Eastern Europe for centuries.

The beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was marked by the new Polish expansion and by the weakening position of the Polish nobility. The earlier nobility's and merchants' interests pushed the country towards Ruthenia, and to the personal union with Lithuania. Ambitions of magnates from Minor Poland and other regions coincided with the rising possibility of the export of grain to the west. Hopes for new gains motivated further expansion. The union with Lithuania made peaceful settlement in the east and north (Livonia) possible. The debate goes on: was it "colonization," or limited "subordination" of the Lithuanian territories to Poland?<sup>20</sup>

Internal political processes led to magnates' domination and the formation of a clientelism system in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> Historian Zbigniew Wójcik wrote:

In this period, Poland was pushed towards war by various internal reasons [...], a demographic boom and, associated with it, the problem of useless people, soldiers, who after Zebrzydowski's Rokosz [Rebellion] were dissolved. The state how to use them. It was decided that this burdensome mass of people would be directed to conquer Russian lands. Polish historians, Władysław Czapliński in particular, pointed at the demographic growth [...] as one aspect of the origin of Poland's participation in Moscow's 'Great *Smuta*.' The relative overpopulation, caused by demography, created 'superfluous hands among poorer Polish nobility.' The high concentration of property in magnates' hands deepened the process.<sup>22</sup>

Poles released from Russian captivity by Vasily Shuysky became propagators of a new war with Moscow and proponents of territorial expansion. Paweł z Palczowa Palczowski in *Kołęda moskiewska* [Moscow's Carrol, 1609]:

addressed [...] young numerous nobles, who lacked bread at home, and noble soldiers, who had participated in the civil war of Zebrzydowski's Rebellion, who had no place in the country [...] In his pamphlet Palczowski openly praised the European colonialism of the time, admired the conquer of the West Indies [...] described uncountable wealth, waiting for audacious people in conquered lands.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> M. Małowist, *Europa i jej ekspansja...*; M. Ferro, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. remarks about "colonialism" and "dependentism" by E. Thompson, *A jednak kolonializm. Uwagi epistemologiczne*, "Teksty Drugie," no. 6, 2011, pp. 289–301.

<sup>21</sup> M. Małowist, *Europa Wschodnia...*, pp. 134–138.

<sup>22</sup> Z. Wójcik, *Międzynarodowe położenie Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] J. Tazbir (ed.), *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1969, pp. 20–21, 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 42–43.

The proposed vision described subordination to Poland's "vast" and "strangely fertile" lands and a program of economic exploitation of the area. "If you seek change in your homeland, go to Moscow, you'll get properties and various wealth there. We reproduced ourselves, let us go there, there, we will have a place to disperse,"<sup>24</sup> he wrote. And further: "For us it is most easy to go to Moscow state, like the others go to India [...]. When we get there, with strength and wealth, we would equal with other nations and kingdoms in Christianity." Zbigniew Wójcik commented:

The last words induce to [...] raise a question whether the famous Dimitriades and Polish intervention in the internal Russian conflicts at the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> century, were simply not Polish versions of colonialism [...], in the eyes of Palczowski, of his principals, and most likely his readers, the conquest of Moscow's lands would be the action similar to conquests of Mexico or Peru by Spain, or Siberia by Russia [...]. Were there attempts to create Polish colonialism at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and can we explain the Polish-Moscow war as such attempt?<sup>25</sup>

More recently, Stanisław Grzybowski supports such thesis. Similarly, as admiral de Coligny in France, who during the French religious wars, tried to direct "disobedient" inhabitants of France to Florida and to Brazil, the Polish Noble Republic also "noticed the necessity of directing the surplus of social energy [...] towards Moscow."<sup>26</sup> Z. Wójcik's question remains opened. The recent anthropological approach suggests an interpretation of events and processes on the eastern and north-eastern peripheries of Poland during the 17–19<sup>th</sup> centuries in light of the colonial and post-colonial theories.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> J. Maciszewski, *Polska a Moskwa 1603–1618. Opinie i stanowiska szlachty polskiej*, PWN, Warszawa 1968, pp. 153, 173–178; Paweł z Palczowa Palczowski, *Kołąda moskiewska*, quoted after: J. Maciszewski, *op.cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>25</sup> Z. Wójcik, *op.cit.*, pp. 20–21, 42–43.

<sup>26</sup> S. Grzybowski, *op.cit.*, p. 435.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. K. Zajas, *Nieobecna kultura. Przypadek Inflant polskich*, Universitas, Kraków 2008, p. 33; *idem*, *Gustaw Manteuffel i kolonializm bałtycki*, [in:] W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki (eds.), *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 3: *Inflanty polskie*, Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, Białystok 2012, pp. 341–350. About the need of reconstruction of Polish colonial discourse and perspectives of post-colonial dimension on Polish history cf. A. Fiut, *Polonizacja? Kolonizacja?*, "Teksty Drugie," no. 6, 2003; B. Bakula, *Kolonialne i postkolonialne aspekty polskiego dyskursu kresoznawczego (zarys problematyki)*, "Teksty Drugie," no. 6, 2003; G. Ritz, *Kresy polskie w perspektywie postkolonialnej*, [in:] H. Gosk, B. Karwowska (eds.), *(Nie)obecność. Pominięcia i przemilczenia w narracjach XX wieku*, Elipsa, Warszawa 2008; E. Domańska, *Badania postkolonialne*, [in:] L. Gandhi, *Teoria postkolonialna. Wprowadzenie krytyczne*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2008, p. 164. About colonialism and post-colonialism in Polish history cf. polemics in "Teksty Drugie," no. 5, 2010, and no. 6, 2011. Also special issue *Galicja postkolonialnie*, "Historyka," vol. 42, 2012.

## Staples Empires

D. Higgs calls the second period of Portuguese expansion, and – thus – emigration, the era of the “staples empire.” It partially overlaps with the former period. Departures were related with the exploitation of raw materials and food. Brazil, which remained a colony until 1821, exported wood, sugar, coffee, and in a profitable trade imported slaves for work on plantations and in mines. European immigrants arrived to Brazil as well. The discovery of gold and diamonds by *bandeirantes* challenged the sugar monoculture of the colony. The Brazilian gold fever (1709) attracted new waves of immigrants.<sup>28</sup> It is estimated that 600,000 people arrived during the gold fever in Minas Gerais (1709–1762).<sup>29</sup> They came to Goiás, Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso. The colony expanded south.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Brazil raised considerable Portuguese interest. The King, aristocrats and merchants amassed fortunes here. Authorities recruited colonists; transportation to the Azores was organized.<sup>31</sup> In 1763, the capital of the colony was moved to Rio de Janeiro. King John III got the nickname of “the king of the colonists.” The overpopulated Portugal had not much to offer to its inhabitants. This strengthened the exodus of young people during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The state and church organized women’s emigration.<sup>32</sup> Colonies were called “overseas provinces of Portugal.” Free inhabitants of the Lusitanian world (in 19<sup>th</sup> century Angola, Mozambique, Guinee Bissau etc.) carried Portuguese citizenship, regardless of the color of their skin.<sup>33</sup> Escaping from Europe, the Portuguese ruling family landed in Brazil on January 22, 1808. Rio de Janeiro temporarily became the empire’s capital. It is estimated that between 1808 and 1817 24,000 immigrants from Portugal (mostly elite members) landed in Brazil. In 1810, among the 6,650,000 inhabitants of Brazil, 920,000 came from Europe, predominantly from Portuguese territories. When Napoleon failed in 1815, Brazil was declared the kingdom united with Portugal and Algarve.<sup>34</sup> In 1821, Maria II became the Queen of Portugal, and Pedro – the Emperor of Brazil. The final separation between the countries was reached.<sup>35</sup> Brazil got its independence in September 1822.

<sup>28</sup> D. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millenium*, Duke University Press, Durnham–London 2002, p. 192; M. Mörner, *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1988, pp. 6–7; D. Knauf, *op.cit.*, pp. 141–142.

<sup>29</sup> M. Mörner, *op.cit.*, p. 10; D. Knauf, *op.cit.*, p. 142; F. Braudel, *op.cit.*, vol. 2, p. 197.

<sup>30</sup> M.B. Rocha-Trinidad, *Brazil and France: An Historical Overview of the Two Main Flows in the Portuguese Diaspora*, “AEMI Journal,” vol. 10, 2012, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> D. Higgs, *Portuguese Migration...*, pp. 11–12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 11–12, 18–19.

<sup>33</sup> M. Ferro, *op.cit.*, p. 152. Brazilian society had racial and castal character – D. Hoerder, *op. cit.*, pp. 246–247; F. Mauro, *Życie codzienne w Brazylii za czasów Pedra II 1831–1889*, trans. E. Bąkowska, PIW, Warszawa 1993, pp. 25–27.

<sup>34</sup> M.B. Rocha-Trinidad, *Portuguese Migration to Brazil in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: An international Cultural Exchange*, [in:] D. Higgs (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 30–32; *eadem*, *Brazil and France...*, p. 90.

<sup>35</sup> *Eadem*, *Portuguese Migration to Brazil...*, pp. 32–34. D. Knauf, *op.cit.*, p. 149; G. Freyre, *Panowie i niewolnicy*, PIW, Warszawa 1985; M. Ferro, *op.cit.*, pp. 124–125, 153.



\*

The Polish state did not exist in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Poles travelled within the territories of empires they lived, carrying the citizenship of these states. These were labor migrations and migrations for career within the same political entities, although often to culturally, religiously, ethnically different areas. Such migrations were, thus, similar to Portuguese ones within their empire and Lusitanian world.

In 1909, approximately half a million Poles lived in the Russian Empire (outside the Congress of Poland and nine gubernias which used to be Poland before 1795).<sup>36</sup> Germany was the second country Poles migrated massively to.<sup>37</sup> Before WWI, 1.5 million people who spoke Polish language lived outside the densely populated by ethnic Poles territories of Greater Poland or Silesia. New enclaves were formed in the 1970s and 1980s. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century migrants from Prussian Poland seasonally worked in German agriculture in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, or as workers in Berlin.<sup>38</sup> Economist Leopold Caro was of the opinion that it was the “army” of Polish workers which made the industrial development of German Empire possible. In Westphalia and Rhineland Poles (German citizens!) constituted 1/3 of those employed in coal mines (in 1913 with members of families 400–500,000). The earnings and labor conditions here were better than in Upper Silesia, from where they originated. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century overseas migration in Prussian Poland was replaced by migration to West Germany.<sup>39</sup> Polish

<sup>36</sup> Z. Łukawski, *Ludność polska w Rosji 1863–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1978, p. 74; L. Bazyłow, *Polacy w Petersburgu*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1984; this was internal colonization or – to use Robin Cohen’s words – “imperial diaspora” – R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 1997, chapt. 3. During the years 1897–1949 such character had settlement in Harbin, Manchuria – K. Grochowski, *Polacy na Dalekim Wschodzie, s.n.*, Harbin 1928; A. Winiarz, *Działalność Polskiego Komitetu Opiekuńczego w Harbinie*, “Rocznik Polonijny,” vol. 5–6, 1984–1985; A. Winiarz, *Udział Polaków w budowie i eksploatacji kolei wschodniochińskiej*, “Przegląd Polonijny,” vol. 19, no. 2, 1993, pp. 135–156.

<sup>37</sup> L.P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992, pp. 128, 138; G. Rosoli, *Italian Migration to European Countries from Political Unification to World War I*, [in:] D. Hoerder (ed.), *Labor Migrations in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes During the Period of Industrialization*, Greenwood Press, Westport–London 1985, pp. 99–103, 109–113.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. D. Praszałowicz, *Polacy w Berlinie. Strumienie migracyjne i społeczności imigracyjne. Przegląd badań*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2010, chapt. 3, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Ch. Klessmann, *Polish Miners in the Ruhr District: Their Social Situation and Trade Union Activity*, [in:] D. Hoerder (ed.), *Labor Migration...*, p. 258; S. Żyga, *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Polaków w Niemczech przed 1914 r.*, [in:] W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Polaków w świecie*, part 2, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1985, pp. 186–193; E. Kołodziej, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski 1918–1939. Studia nad polityką emigracyjną II Rzeczypospolitej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1982, pp. 24–25; J. Ponty, *Pierwsi polscy górnicy we Francji, 1909–1918*, [in:] E. Kaczyńska (ed.), *Polska klasa robotnicza. Studia historyczne*, vol. 10, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1983, p. 195; J. Ponty, *Les Polonais en France. De Louis XV à nos jours*, éditions du Rocher, Monaco 2008, chapt. 6, 7; J. Kozłowski, *Polacy w Niemczech w XIX i XX wieku (do 1945 roku)*, [in:] B. Szydłowska-Ceglowa (ed.), *Polonia w Europie*, Zakład Badań Narodowościowych PAN, Poznań 1992, pp. 225–232; K. Murzynowska, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Niemczech*, [in:] *Polska klasa robotnicza. Zarys dziejów*, vol. 1, part. 3, Książka

emigrants were present in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary as well,<sup>40</sup> where they travelled as Austro-Hungarian citizens.<sup>41</sup> It is important to mention that emigration into Russia, Germany proper, Austria or Hungary was sharply criticized by some Polish politicians, journalists and activists.<sup>42</sup>

### Portuguese and Polish Labor Migrations during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Higgs calls 19<sup>th</sup> century Portugal the “emigrant empire.” Members of both groups – Portuguese and Polish – can easily be characterized as “labor migrants.” Their experience became similar, *toutes proportions gardées*. People were leaving their homelands to earn money, save earnings and – if possible – later transfer them to families. To move upwardly on the social ladder. Movements transformed participants and deeply changed the sending and receiving countries.<sup>43</sup>

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal (including Atlantic islands) experienced deep demographic changes. The population of the predominantly agricultural country increased from 3 million in 1835 to 5.5 million in 1911.<sup>44</sup> Economic recession and natural disasters deepened the crisis. Madeira remained the reservoir of potential migrants. In 1840, the island experienced the first crisis of wine production. In 1857, it was hurt by another one.<sup>45</sup> Plagues devastated orange plantations in the Azores. Regions in recession were not able to absorb the demographic growth. Furthermore, the land on the islands remained in the hands of very few, rich owners. Tenants fell into the category of agricultural workers. The export of agricultural products declined and was highly taxed. The new inheritance law made the situation worse (after 1863 properties were divided among all inheritors). Thus, migration remained the only remedy

---

i Wiedza, Warszawa 1978, pp. 607–706; J. Kozłowski, *Rozwój organizacji społeczno-narodowych wychodźstwa polskiego w Niemczech 1870–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1987; J.J. Kulczycki, *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement: Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871–1914*, Berg, Oxford–Providence 1994, pp. 14–47.

<sup>40</sup> J. Okołowicz, *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo polskie przed wojną światową*, Warszawa 1920, pp. 252–253, 349–350; P. Kraszewski, *Polacy w Austrii*, [in:] B. Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 536–537; *Wychodźstwo polskie w poszczególnych krajach*, MSZ, Warszawa 1926.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. N.L. Green, F. Weil (dir.), *Citoyenneté et émigration. Les politiques du depart*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 2006. English version *eadem* (eds.), *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana 2007.

<sup>42</sup> M. Micińska, *op.cit.*, pp. 180–182.

<sup>43</sup> D.R. Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2000; D.R. Gabaccia, *The 'Yellow Peril' and the 'Chinese of Europe': Global Perspectives on Race and Labor, 1815–1930*, [in:] J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 177–196.

<sup>44</sup> W. Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992, pp. 17, 101; H. Pietschmann, *Spain and Portugal*, [in:] K.J. Bade, P.C. Emmer, L. Lucassen, J. Oltmer (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>45</sup> A. Vieira, *Emigration from the Portuguese Islands in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Madeira*, [in:] D. Higgs (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 42–45.



to the situation for the population.<sup>46</sup> Since the 1870s 13,000 people left Portugal and the islands each year. The year 1912 marked the highest rate of emigration (89,000), between 1911 and 1913 the average was 75,000. Tras-os-Montes, Beira Alta regions in Bragança, Vizeu, Vila Real, Guarda regions, Azores and Madeira registered the highest emigration.<sup>47</sup>

Out of a total 11 million of immigrants who reached South America between 1854 and 1924, 11% of them were Portuguese.<sup>48</sup> At the turn of centuries links between the Portuguese diaspora and the old country significantly strengthened.

The main destination remained – the now independent – Brazil. Some immigrants took jobs in trade enterprises run by their relatives and friends at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (they made up 8–10% of the total Portuguese population in Brazil). The second group (another 10%) were people who possessed some properties, qualifications, and could more easily find a niche in a developing a Brazilian urban economy. In 1872, in Rio de Janeiro the Portuguese constituted  $\frac{3}{4}$  of all foreign craftsmen. In the São Paulo province 776 trade enterprises remained in Portuguese migrants' hands. Members of this group retained a strong identity as well. The third and largest group were unskilled workers and common laborers (80% of the population). They worked in plantations, sugar industry and mines, and after 1888, replaced slaves.<sup>49</sup> Seasonal workers travelled to coffee plantations in São Paulo (half of them were Italians, Portuguese made up one third, the third largest group were Spaniards). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 209,282 Portuguese landed in the harbor of Santos between 1908 and 1936, 81% of them above the age of 12, 48% associated with agriculture. As early as in 1850, Brazil started to attract immigrants to work on the coffee plantations. Other regions started such a policy in the 1880s. German and Italian migrants arrived as settlers as well. The colonization was organized according to the *colono* system; the immigrants' travel expenses were covered.<sup>50</sup> Between 1918 and 1929, 23,000 Portuguese migrated to Brazil yearly.<sup>51</sup> Migrations to Brazil were circular (so were Italian). Return rates, which characterized Portuguese migrations from the early days, were very high (66%).<sup>52</sup> Caroline Brettell presented some exemplary biographies of migrants.

Adelino Da Rocha was born in 1857; similarly to his father he became a potter. In 1878, he applied for a passport to go to Brazil. In 1882, he did it for the second time. He returned in 1885, married, but applied for a passport again in 1896, 1898, 1901,

<sup>46</sup> D. Baines, *European Emigration, 1815–1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again*, “The Economic History Review,” vol. 47, no. 3, 1994, p. 534; L.P. Moch, *Moving...*, p. 148.

<sup>47</sup> W. Nugent, *op.cit.*, p. 105; A. Vieira, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>48</sup> L.P. Moch, *Moving...*, p. 148.

<sup>49</sup> A. Vieira, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–47; J. Williams, *Azorean Migration Patterns in the United States*, [in:] D. Higgs (ed.), *Portuguese Migration...*, p. 151; F. Mauro, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>50</sup> H.S. Klein, *European and Asian Migration to Brazil*, [in:] R. Cohen (ed.), *Cambridge Survey of World Migrations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995, pp. 208–211.

<sup>51</sup> M. Mörner, *op.cit.*, pp. 86, 97.

<sup>52</sup> L.P. Moch, *Moving...*, p. 156; *eadem*, *The European Perspective: Changing Conditions and Multiple Migrations, 1750–1914*, [in:] D. Hoerder, L.P. Moch (eds.), *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, Northeastern University Press, Boston 1996, p. 129; W. Nugent, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

1902, 1903, 1907. He died in 1941 in Portugal, after permanently returning at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>53</sup>

Worker Francisco de Sousa was born in 1847 in northern Portugal. At the age of 24 he applied for a passport to go to Brazil, where he spent several years and returned in 1875. He married in October, but the following year left for Brazil again. His wife died in 1879 and a year later Francisco migrated again for three years. He re-married. In 1893, Francisco again asked for a travel document as a *lavrador*. He returned to the country and his family in 1907. Some of his children probably emigrated as well.

António de Castro, another migrant, briefly characterized his life, “Never always here, never always there.” He was born in 1901. His father visited Brazil, Spain, France many times. António was a locksmith. He married in 1923 and in 1928 emigrated to Brazil – “like everyone else [...] looking for a little hope in life.” After three years he was back in Portugal. After the war he and some members of his family left again. In 1958, he returned to Brazil after 4 years.<sup>54</sup> Caroline Brettell’s examples clearly show that migration was a common option used very often during one’s lifetime. Family life decided about time and direction. The existing long tradition of migration played a role as well. Members of a family who migrated sent remittances to the country and migrations provided safety for future.<sup>55</sup>

Outside the Lusitanian world the biggest migration waves went to the United States, South Africa, Canada, Venezuela.<sup>56</sup> Many Portuguese worked in Madrid as well.<sup>57</sup>

The financially most profitable were travels to the US, but a smaller number of people choose that destination.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century whale fleets made stops in Faial, on the Azores. American merchants established their posts there. The Portuguese were arriving to Boston, Massachusetts on whale and trade ships. The Portuguese came to California in the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of gold rush, and later found employment in fishery and agriculture there. In the 1870s, information about the possibilities which America offered spread to other Azores islands. Between 1870 and 1910 the number of people of Portuguese origin was rising by 5.6% yearly. 70% of the group originated in the Azores. 68% of the migrants were illiterate, 88% lacked qualifications or were unskilled. They were young (between 16–25 years old) and single. The passage of half of them was paid by someone else – a classic example of chain migration.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> C. Brettell, *Leaving...*, pp. 72–73.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 63–66.

<sup>55</sup> A. Vieira, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>56</sup> M.B. Rocha-Trinidade, *Migrations in Portugal*, “AEMI Journal,” vol. 2, 2004, pp. 22–24; *eadem*, *Portugal: Destination Countries for Emigrants; Immigrants’ Countries of Origin*, “AEMI Journal,” vol. 3, 2005, p. 76.

<sup>57</sup> L.P. Moch, *Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization*, [in:] J. Lucassen, L. Lucassen (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>58</sup> J. Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 145.

**Table 1.** Arrivals of Portuguese, 1840–1909

Years	Arrivals of Portuguese
1840–1849	362
1850–1859	4,225
1860–1869	5,369
1870–1879	14,265
1880–1889	15,560
1890–1899	26,376
1900–1909	63,144

Source: own elaboration based on M.J.B. Baganha, *Portuguese Emigration to the United States*, Garland Publ., New York 1990, p. 307.

175,000 people arrived between 1855 and 1914 (that is 12–14% of all Portuguese who crossed the ocean).<sup>59</sup>

Maria Ioannis B. Baganha tried to respond to the question: why did people choose either Brazil or the US as their destination, and wrote, “[...] what channeled emigrants in either direction were the emigrants’ personal characteristics and the characteristics of the receiving society’s labor market, plus the existence or non-existence of channels of information and support to a given direction.”<sup>60</sup> In Terceira (Azores Islands), in 1901, half of migrants choose Brazil, the other half the US. Baganha noticed a decline of departures to Brazil since the 1880s and found the following pattern: 26 to 40 year old persons, married, skilled, with migration experience went to Brazil. Single, unmarried, younger people (14–24 years old), with no migratory experience preferred the US, where they had better prospects of economic advancement.<sup>61</sup>

Portuguese communities were formed in New England (mainly in Massachusetts) and in California. They worked in the textile industry in New England. The group was homogeneous and rarely entered into contact with members of other groups.<sup>62</sup> In 1900, 63.5% of Portuguese lived in Bristol County and in the vicinity of New Bedford and Fall River. New Bedford was the largest American whale center, Fall River one of largest textile centers. They also worked as fisherman and in the fish industry in Barnstable and Essex counties. In 1920, 43,042 Portuguese immigrants and 62,000 of their children lived in Massachusetts (that meant that 37.7% of all people of Portuguese origin in the US).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> M.I. Baganha, *Unbroken Links: Portuguese Emigration to the USA*, [in:] R. Cohen (ed.), *Cambridge Survey...*, p. 91.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>61</sup> M.I. Baganha, *Portuguese Emigration to the United States*, Garland Publ., New York 1990, *passim*.

<sup>62</sup> *Eadem*, *Unbroken...*, pp. 92–93; A. Walaszek, *Lokatorzy slumsów. Okolice chicagowskich rzeźni w 1905 r.*, “Przegląd Polonijny,” vol. 10, no. 2, 1984, pp. 5–24.

<sup>63</sup> J. Williams, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

Louise Lamphere devoted a path breaking monograph to working women in New England, Portuguese among them. They arrived to the US at the same time came Poles and Syrians (immigrants from today's Lebanon, mainly Greek-Catholics, Maronite). In 1920, the Portuguese group was small in Central Falls (152 people), larger in the neighboring Pawtucket, R.I. – 1102 (predominantly Azoreans). Men worked in slaughtering houses, and on farms, young women in the textile industry. In 1915, 18,013 persons of Portuguese descent lived in Rhode Island. In Providence, R.I., they worked as longshoremen and harbor workers, in brickyards, slaughtering houses, the food packing and fish industry. The adaptation experiences of the Portuguese, Poles and Syrians were similar.<sup>64</sup> In 1915, 20% of households rented spaces to boarders. 58% of households consisted of young couples with children. The social position of the Portuguese was lower than Irish or French-Canadians, which was reflected in lower earnings. In a difficult year of crises (1922) the Portuguese presence was visible during strikes. So was a Polish one.<sup>65</sup> In California, most Portuguese, in turn, settled mostly in the following counties: Alameda, Marin, Contra Costa and Santa Clara. In the 1930s, they began moving towards Central Valley, where 95% of them worked on dairy and vegetable farms and in industry.<sup>66</sup>

Africa and Asia remained other destinations for the Portuguese. Merchants, intermediaries worked in Batavia, Cochin. The Portuguese constituted an important group of the white population in the colonies. 10% of emigrants in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries chose Angola and Mozambique. Between 1847 and 1848, the emigration of Portuguese from Brazil to Angola, where sugar cane plantations were created, was also significant.<sup>67</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, political exiles who tried to organize activity to restore Polish independence were prominent among Polish emigrants. Such episodes can also be noticed in Portuguese history as well, but their significance for the country was far smaller. After 1848, several thousand refugees lived in France. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, much larger groups fled the country as political refugees, e.g. after an unsuccessful attempt to abolish Salazar's regime in 1927. During World War II neutral Portugal became the capital of European refugees. The first group of 10,000 Jews from France arrived in the summer of 1940. Poles were also among the refugees.

Between 1880 and 1914 approximately 10 million people left Polish lands in search of a better life (3.6 million permanently). During the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 2/3 of the population of Austrian, Prussian and 1/3 of Russian Poland had to search for work outside their villages in various distances.<sup>68</sup> Between 1919 and 1939, an addi-

<sup>64</sup> L. Lamphere, *From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 1987, pp. 47, 83–87.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 165–168, 187–188, 190–191; D.R. Gabaccia, *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820–1990*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1994, p. 89; G. Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914–1960*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989, p. 200; C. Brettell, P.A. de Berjeois, *Anthropology and the Study of Immigrant Women*, [in:] D.R. Gabaccia (ed.), *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States*, Praeger, Westport 1992, pp. 44, 49.

<sup>66</sup> J. Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 153–155.

<sup>67</sup> M. Ferro, *op.cit.*, p. 154.

<sup>68</sup> E. Morawska, *Labor Migrations of Poles in the Atlantic World Economy, 1880–1914*, "Comparative Studies in Society and History," vol. 31, no. 3, 1989; F. Bujak, *Żmijca, wieś powiatu lima-*

tional 2 million emigrated. It is estimated that before WWI, the Polish diaspora abroad numbered 4.3 million people.<sup>69</sup>

From Polish lands huge labor migrations started after the emancipation of peasants. Deep economic differences between western European and the Atlantic core and eastern and southern European peripheries pushed people to move.<sup>70</sup> Places to go were clearly defined.<sup>71</sup> From the Podhale region it was Hungary and the United States, to a lesser degree Western Europe and South America. From northern Mazovia – Germany, the United States and Brazil. Industrial centers in the Atlantic world needed a labor force for construction works, heavy and light industry, mining. Capitalist agriculture required agrarian workers. Some South American countries attracted European immigrants (like in Argentina according to the slogan *gobernar es poblar*; in 1853, pro-immigration accents were amended to the state's constitution).<sup>72</sup> After the abolition of slavery in 1888, working hands were desperately needed in Brazil.

---

*nowskiego. Stosunki gospodarczo-społeczne*, G. Gebethner, Kraków 1903, pp. 99–100; R. Kantor, *Między Zaborowem a Chicago. Kulturowe konsekwencje istnienia zbiorowości imigrantów z parafii zaborowskiej w Chicago i jej kontaktów z rodzinnymi wsiami*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1990, pp. 48–49; J. Szczepanowski, *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Mazowsza Północnego od końca XIX wieku do I wojny światowej*, [in:] A. Koseski (ed.), *Emigracja z ziem polskich w XX wieku. Drogi awansu emigrantów*, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, Pułtusk 1998, pp. 39–42; M. Sowiński, *Rybna i Kaszów, wsie powiatu krakowskiego*, Ministerstwo Reform Rolnych, Puławy 1928, pp. 164–165; A. Walaszek, *Migracje i ziemie polskie w dobie masowych wędrówek zarobkowych*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 18, no. 3, 1992, pp. 43–65; S. Hupka, *Über die Entwicklung der westgalizischen Dorffzustände in der zweiten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, P. Mitreğa, Teschen 1910, p. 390; F. Bujak, *Kilka przyczynków i sprostowań do pracy dra St. Hupki o rozwoju stosunków włościańskich w Galicji Zachodniej (pow. Ropczyce)*, reprint from "Ekonomista," 1913, pp. 85–89; S. Hupka, *Przyczynki do metodyczno-naukowej strony badań stanu i rozwoju współczesnej wsi polskiej w Galicji Zachodniej*, Księgarnia Spółki Wydawnictw Polskich, Kraków 1912, pp. 58–64; F. Bujak, *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne*, Kraków 1902, p. 133; *idem*, *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Rozwój od r. 1900 do r. 1911*, G. Gebethner, Lwów 1914, pp. 106–197; K. Duda-Dziewierz, *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babice pow. rzeszowskiego*, Polski Instytut Sociologiczny, Warszawa–Poznań 1938, pp. 118–129; M. Misińska, *Podhale dawne i współczesne. Wybrane zagadnienia*, "Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria Etnograficzna," no. 15, Łódź 1971, pp. 60–61; S. Udziela, *Lud polski w powiecie ropczyckim*, "Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej," vol. 14, 1890, pp. 26–29.

<sup>69</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Emigracja z ziem polskich od końca XIX w. do czasów współczesnych i tworzenie się skupisk polonijnych*, [in:] A. Pilch (ed.), *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)*, PWN, Warszawa 1984, pp. 17–19; *idem*, *Wychodźstwo...*, p. 30.

<sup>70</sup> L.P. Moch, *Moving...*; H. Hornbeck Tanner (ed.), *The Settling of North America: The Atlas of the Great Migrations into North America from the Ice Age to the Present*, Macmillan, New York 1995, pp. 112–113.

<sup>71</sup> F. Ramella, *Across the Ocean or over the Border: Expectations and Experiences of Italians from Piedmont in New Jersey and Southern France*, [in:] D. Hoerder, H. Roessler (eds.), *Distant Magnets: Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840–1930*, Holmes and Meier, New York–London 1992, p. 105.

<sup>72</sup> K. Smolana, *Ameryka Łacińska jako obszar imigracji masowej*, [in:] J.E. Zamojski (ed.), *Migracje i społeczeństwo*, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 1995, p. 113.

Polish post-emancipation villages with the hunger for land, fast demographic growth, and the excess of laboring hands<sup>73</sup> dramatically required cash.<sup>74</sup> Villagers tried to realize their hopes and dreams for advancement, understood within the frame of the peasant values system.<sup>75</sup> It was a positive motivation which draws them.<sup>76</sup> Revolt against the ways of life, as well.<sup>77</sup> Most often the reasons for leaving were complex.<sup>78</sup> Similarly to Portugal, in Polish villages it also very difficult to answer the question why some people had chosen one, while others a different destination. In 1890, 593 people emigrated across the ocean from Rypin County in Mazovia. At the same time 858 persons went to West Prussia for seasonal work in agriculture.<sup>79</sup>

For Poles, the biggest magnet became the United States of America. Approximately 2.5 million people migrated there.<sup>80</sup> The movement started in Prussian Poland.<sup>81</sup> Emigration to farms in Texas, Wisconsin or Nebraska was from the beginning planned as permanent. However, the great majority of migrants headed towards Eastern, Northern and Midwestern industrial towns and they originally considered their movement as a temporary one.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>73</sup> K. Groniowski, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii, 1871–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1972, p. 72; W. Nugent, *op.cit.*, pp. 19–26.

<sup>74</sup> Buynowski, *Wypowiedź*, [in:] *IV Zjazd Prawników i Ekonomistów Polskich*, "Czasopismo Prawnicze i Ekonomiczne," 1907, p. 203.

<sup>75</sup> W. Kula, N. Assorodobraj-Kula, M. Kula, *Wstęp*, [in:] *idem* (eds.), *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych, 1890–1891*, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1973, pp. 42–46 (quote on pp. 45–46).

<sup>76</sup> E. Morawska, 'For Bread with Butter': *Life-Words of Peasant Immigrants from East Central Europe, 1880–1914*, "Journal of Social History," vol. 17, no. 3, 1984, p. 391.

<sup>77</sup> M. Czula, *W niewoli życia i polityki. Pamiętnik*, Ossolineum Library, Wrocław, mss. no. 124000II, p. 65. M. Kula, *Ruchy migracyjne a ruchy protestu społecznego*, "Historyka," vol. 13, 1983, *passim*; E. Morawska, *Motyw awansu w systemie wartości polskich imigrantów w Stanach Zjednoczonych na przełomie wieku. O potrzebie relatywizmu kulturowego w badaniach historycznych*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 4, no. 1, 1978, p. 61–62.

<sup>78</sup> R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas...*, p. 180; *idem*, *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour*, Gower, Aldershot 1987, pp. 33–32; R. Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, Harper Perennial, New York 1991, p. 239; W. Nugent, *op.cit.*, pp. 11–12; A. Walaszek, *Preserving or Transforming Role? Migrants and Polish Territories in the Era of Mass Migrations*, [in:] D. Hoerder, J. Nagler (eds.), *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1939*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 1995, pp. 102–105.

<sup>79</sup> A. Walaszek, *Migracje i ziemie polskie w latach 1854–1914*, [in:] A. Maksymowicz (ed.), *Emigracja z Klepska i okolic do Australii w 1838 r.*, Muzeum Ziemi Lubuskiej, Sulechów 2009, pp. 43–45, 54; A. Walaszek, *Migrations from a Galician Village: Babica before World War I*, [in:] A. Steidl, J. Ehmer, S. Nadel, H. Zeitlhofer (eds.), *European Mobility: Internal, International, and Transatlantic Moves in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Transkulturelle Perspektiven, vol. 8, V&R unipress, Göttingen 2009, pp. 79–87; E. Morawska, *Labor Migrations...*, p. 251.

<sup>80</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Emigracja...*, p. 13.

<sup>81</sup> A. Brożek, *Polonia amerykańska, 1854–1939*, Interpress, Warszawa 1977, p. 44.

<sup>82</sup> L. Kocik, *Polski farmer w Ameryce. Studium na przykładzie stanu Wisconsin w USA*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1990; J. Radziłowski, *Family Labor and Immigrant Success in a Polish American Rural Community, 1883–1905*, "Polish American Studies," vol. 51, no. 2, 1994, pp. 49–66; M. Wyman,



Around 1880 in the Galician parish of Zaborów, a young man somehow learnt about possibility of seasonal earnings, and left “for the world.” During the 13 consecutive years he seasonally travelled to Germany. Since then, migration to agricultural work in Germany became an everyday village reality. Later, Denmark was “discovered.” After 1920, it was France. More important event occurred in 1888, when a 40 year old peasant (living on 4 *morgas*), father of three children, Majka, borrowed money for a ticket and left for Chicago. After five years he returned, to leave for America again. It is not known why he had chosen Chicago. America deeply changed parish and village inhabitants. “The discovery of America became the discovery of new forms of life.” Those who migrated tried to influence the migration of followers.<sup>83</sup> At least half of the parish population participated in migration. Consequently Zaborowians were equally interested in their own and in the diaspora’s problems (in Chicago mainly). It was the same story everywhere.<sup>84</sup>

Migrations to more distant destinations followed the German experience of leaving to the US (or to Australia).<sup>85</sup> In Russian Poland, migrations started in regions nearest to East Prussia’s border. Migration waves spread to the south and east – to Austrian Galicia and elsewhere in Congress Poland.<sup>86</sup>

In both Portugal and Poland most commentators blamed the so called “emigration agents,” intermediaries, travel agents for emigration.<sup>87</sup> In Portugal some of them acted as wine traders as well. In the 1840s and 1850s 15 such agents operated in Funchal. Originally in Portugal, agents played important role as well, recruiting migrants, helping them, becoming part of informal networks. Their role diminished at the turn of

---

*Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 1993, pp. 40–41; A. Walaszek, *Polscy robotnicy praca i związki zawodowe w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 1880–1922*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1988, pp. 31–34; J.S. Pula, E.E. Dziedzic, *United We Stand: The Role of Polish Workers in the New York Mills Textile Strikes, 1912 and 1916*, Columbia University Press, New York 1990; J.R. Barrett, *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana–Chicago 1987; also W.G. Falkowski, *Labor, Radicalism, and the Polish-American Worker*, [in:] J.J. Bukowczyk (ed.), *Polish Americans and Their History: Community, Culture, and Politics*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1996, pp. 39–57.

<sup>83</sup> K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, *Spoleczność wiejska. Doświadczenia i rozważania z badań terenowych w Zaborowie*, Polski Instytut Służby Społecznej, Warszawa 1958, pp. 146–149, 153; R. Kantor, *op.cit.*, pp. 47–55.

<sup>84</sup> J. Fierich, *Przeszłość wsi powiatu ropczyckiego w ustach ich mieszkańców*, Nakładem Koła T.S.L., Ropczyce 1936, p. 58; K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, *op.cit.*, pp. 148–149; R. Kantor, *op.cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>85</sup> D. Praszalowicz, *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie na obczyźnie. Polscy i niemieccy imigranci w Milwaukee, Wisconsin (USA) 1860–1920*, Universitas, Kraków 1999, chapt. 2; A. Maksymowicz, *Emigracja z pogranicza Brandenburgii, Śląska i Wielkopolski do Australii Południowej w latach 1838–1914*, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Zielona Góra 2011.

<sup>86</sup> K. Duda-Dziewierz, *op.cit.*, *passim*; I. Glazier, *Ships and Passengers in Emigration from Italy to the U.S. 1800–1900*, [in:] *Emigration from Northern, Central, and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Polonijne,” no. 8, 1984, p. 249; W. Nugent, *op.cit.*, pp. 96–99.

<sup>87</sup> A. Pilch, *Emigracja z ziem zaboru austriackiego (od połowy XIX w. do 1918 r.)*, [in:] *idem* (ed.), *Emigracja z ziem polskich...*, p. 297; R. Kantor, *op.cit.*, pp. 54–55.

the century, when family networks and chain migration made independent movements possible.<sup>88</sup> Attempts to prevent emigration undertaken by Portuguese authorities were not successful either. The press discussed the hot issue and criticized the phenomenon. The Periodical "O Progressista" described emigration to Guiana and Brazil in terms of "white slavery." Dramatic stories were circulated, but at the same time existing possibilities of work and employment were showed<sup>89</sup>. It was far stronger in Polish lands. Polish commentators criticized emigration. They negatively evaluated the flows of people to Germany or to South America.<sup>90</sup> At the time of "Brazilian fever" the weekly "Dawn" ("Zorza") from Congress Poland warned against the Brazilian "plague" and emigration agents.<sup>91</sup> Negative opinions did not prevent departures.<sup>92</sup> The Polish press alarmed that migration weakened the "demographic potential" of the country. Individual tragedies were described. First institutions helping migrants appeared.<sup>93</sup> In Austrian Galicia the trial of Hamburg-America Line agency from Oświęcim,<sup>94</sup> or controversies around activity Canadian Pacific, which tried to attract people to Canada,<sup>95</sup> became famous at the end of the century. As a result of the agents' dishonestly some Polish migrants ended their journey on the Hawaiian islands, not in continental US.<sup>96</sup> But agents were just intermediaries, and facilitated migrations. The reality of continental migrations was different. Movements from Russian or Austrian Poland to Germany and to Denmark were organized by the so called *Aufseher*s, who accompanied migrants and were paid by them and their employers.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>88</sup> L. Caro, *Nasi wychodźcy zamorscy*, "Przegląd Powszechny," vol. 25, no. 99, 1908, pp. 352–355.

<sup>89</sup> A. Vieira, *op.cit.*, pp. 46, 51–54.

<sup>90</sup> K. Murzynowska, *Związki polskiego wychodźstwa zamieszkałego w Zagłębiu Ruhry z krajem w latach 1870–1918*, [in:] E. Kaczyńska (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>91</sup> Quoted after K. Groniowski, *Gorączka brazylijska*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny," no. 2, 1967, p. 324; cf. *idem*, *Polska emigracja...*, pp. 51–73, 99–168.

<sup>92</sup> Quoted after *idem*, *Polska emigracja...*, p. 108.

<sup>93</sup> P. Kraszewski, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w latach 1870–1939. Praktyka i refleksja*, Zakład Badań Narodowościowych, Poznań 1995; A. Walaszek, *Migracyjne wybory i dyskusje wokół nich na ziemiach polskich 1870–1914*, [in:] *Między konfrontacją a współpracą. Historia – polityka – migracje. Księga pamiątkowa na upamiętnienie 50-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Jana E. Zamajskiego*, Neriton, Warszawa 2009, pp. 233–250.

<sup>94</sup> L. Caro, *Nasi wychodźcy...*, pp. 360, 367–369; *idem*, *Emigracja i polityka emigracyjna ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ziem polskich*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań 1914, pp. 82–84.

<sup>95</sup> A. Walaszek, *Politycy, agenci i chłopcy polscy w Kanadzie (przed 1914 r.)*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 28, no. 4, 2004; G.M. Kowalski, *Przestępstwa emigracyjne w Galicji 1897–1918. Z badań nad dziejami polskiego wychodźstwa*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2003; M. Starczewski, *Z dziejów emigracji zarobkowej: agenci emigracyjni na ziemiach polskich przed 1914 r.*, "Przegląd Historyczny," vol. 103, no. 1, 2012, pp. 47–80.

<sup>96</sup> T. Gasiński, *Polish Contract Labor in Hawaii, 1896–1899*, "Polish American Studies," vol. 39, no. 1, 1982.

<sup>97</sup> E. Later-Chodyłowa, *Organizacja polskiego ruchu emigracyjnego do Danii w latach 1892–1929*, "Przegląd Zachodni," vol. 29, no. 1, 1983, pp. 43–59; K. Zawistowicz-Adamska, *op.cit.*, p. 148; R. Kantor, *op.cit.*, p. 50; E. Kołodziej, *Dzieje Polonii 1918–1939*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1991, p. 158.

Before the Great War Polish emigration to France was rather small. 30–40,000 people left to work in agriculture and as unskilled workers<sup>98</sup> with the help of the Polish Emigration Society. The first Polish miners to the Pas-de-Calais department were brought by duke Witold Czartoryski in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time Polish societies retained closed links with the Polish diaspora in Germany.<sup>99</sup> Xenophobic feelings against them were omnipresent. Poles could not enter trade unions, and before WWI the group was too small to form their own union, as they did in Germany. During the war Poles, after all citizens of Germany, had to be moved to other mines in different regions, as the bad sentiments against them were so strong.<sup>100</sup>

A much larger group moved to France after WWI from Westphalia (100,000 people).<sup>101</sup> It was a clear example of “secondary migration,”<sup>102</sup> and proved contacts between people in the diaspora. From Poland, as a consequence of migration convention, to work in France between 1919 and 1938 613,000 people left (202,000 of them returned). In 1931, Poles comprised 22% of all those employed in French coal mining.<sup>103</sup> Returns to Poland were also caused by anti-foreign attitudes in France.<sup>104</sup> At the same time the Portuguese entered the French labor market in high numbers.<sup>105</sup>

There were three waves of Polish emigration to Brazil. In total, approximately 115,000 people settled in the states of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>98</sup> R. Dzwonkowski, W. Śladkowski, *Polonia francuska*, [in:] B. Szydłowska-Ceglowska (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 373–375; H. Janowska, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa we Francji 1919–1939*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1965; M. Gmurczyk-Wrońska, *Polacy we Francji w latach 1871–1914. Społeczność polska i jej podstawy materialne*, Neriton, Warszawa 1996, pp. 225–249.

<sup>99</sup> J. Ponty, *Pierwsi polscy górnicy...*, pp. 191–196.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 193, 199–203, 205–206, quote on p. 201.

<sup>101</sup> S. Kościelecka, *Dzieje Polonii w Danii w latach 1892–1940*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, Szczecin 1983, p. 51.

<sup>102</sup> F. Bovenkerk, *The Sociology of Return Migration: A Bibliographic Essay*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, Research Group for European Migration Problems, Publications, vol. 20, The Hague 1973, p. 5.

<sup>103</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Dzieje Polonii...*, pp. 134–136; S. Fogelson, *Polacy we Francji w 1931 r.*, “Statystyka Polski,” vol. 16, no. 4, 1937, pp. 237–274.

<sup>104</sup> T. Chelmiński, *Powrót wychodźców z Francji w latach 1935 i 1936*, “Statystyka Pracy,” vol. 16, no. 4, 1937, p. 232; H. Janowska, *op.cit.*, pp. 84–85; M. Niemyska, *Wychodźcy po powrocie do kraju*, Drukarnia Techniczna, Warszawa 1936, p. 18; W. Zechenter, *Francja dla Francuzów. Walka z robotnikiem polskim we Francji*, “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny,” no. 335, 4 December 1931, pp. 2–3.

<sup>105</sup> L. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Treat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana–London 2005, pp. 76, 151, 192; L.P. Moch, *Moving...*, pp. 165, 177, 184–185; E. de Sousa Ferreira, J.J.R. Leite Pereira, *Portugal's Accession to the EEC and Migration Balance*, [in:] D. Kubat (ed.), *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*, Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome–New York 1984, s. 27–30; A. Kreienbrink-Herrero, *Aspectos da inmigración española, portuguesa e iberoamericana en Alemania*, “Estudios Migratorios,” no. 10, 2000, pp. 109–127.

<sup>106</sup> K. Smolana, *Za Ocean po lepsze życie*, [in:] M. Kula (ed.), *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1983, pp. 50–55; M. Kula, *Polono-Brazyliczycy i parę kwestii im bliskich*, Muzeum Historii Ruchu Ludowego, Warszawa 2012; K. Groniowski, *Polska emigracja...*; I. Klarner, *Emigracja z Królestwa Polskiego do Brazylii w latach 1890–1914*, Ossolineum, Warszawa 1975.

Before WWI, 32,000 Slavic immigrants from Austrian and Russian Poland settled in Argentina (their national/ethnic identity is very difficult to define – they were as much *Polacos*, as *Rutenos*).<sup>107</sup> They settled on farms, in regions different from the ones the Portuguese went to. In the inter-war period, the number of Polish workers in Brazilian and Argentinian cities increased. 150,000 people who worked as agricultural laborers, unskilled workers, constructing roads, railways, in food industry and as farmers in Misiones emigrated to Argentina.<sup>108</sup> In Canada, the number of Poles was estimated at 33,000 working in towns and in agriculture.<sup>109</sup> Most of them settled in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan.<sup>110</sup>

In Portugal and in Polish lands, migrations have changed and transformed the lives of several generations, becoming part of everyday life. A constant dialogue and exchange was carried between the countries of origin and the diaspora. Family economy, based on migrations influenced the process of family decision making. In both countries, the phenomenon and experience of women “left behind” looked similarly. In various ways the absence of men emancipated women.<sup>111</sup> “White” or “straw” widows ran the husbands’ farms and acquired a new authority. They carried duties, so far unknown to them.<sup>112</sup>

Each year seasonal workers from Denmark, Germany, Latvia, Hungary or other countries were returning to Polish lands. The Portuguese were coming back from Spain, Brazil.<sup>113</sup>

Returnees transplanted some material culture achievements and innovations to their European homes. Modernized houses in Poland, Hungary and Portugal were called

<sup>107</sup> K. Smolana, *Za Ocean...*, pp. 55–58; R. Stemplowski (ed.), *Polacy, Rusini i Ukraińcy, Argentyniacy. Osadnictwo w Misiones 1892–2009*, Muzeum Historii Ruchu Ludowego, Warszawa 2011.

<sup>108</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Dzieje Polonii...*, pp. 245–246, 255.

<sup>109</sup> A. Reczyńska, *Emigracja z Polski do Kanady w okresie międzywojennym*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1986, pp. 81, 65–89.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. *Polacy na wyspach filipińskich*, “Wychodźca,” no. 33, 1926, pp. 10–11; W. Sielski, *List z wysp filipińskich*, “Wychodźca,” no. 52, 1929, pp. 2–3; *idem*, *Polacy na Filipinach*, “Wychodźca,” no. 42, 1928, pp. 5–6; “Dziennik dla Wszystkich” (Buffalo), 19.03.1930; *Polacy na Sumatrze*, “Przegląd Emigracyjny,” no. 20, 1894; *Kolonia polska w Indiach Holenderskich*, “Wychodźca,” no. 22, 1922, pp. 12–13; K. Sulkowski, *Kolonia polska na Sumatrze*, “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny,” 6.05.1927; *Możliwości emigracyjne w Indiach Holenderskich*, manuscript, no. 1612, Ambasada polska w Berlinie, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa.

<sup>111</sup> C. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1986.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibidem*; L. Reeder, *Women in the Classroom: Mass Migration, Literacy, and the Naturalization of Sicilian Women at the Turn of the Century*, “Journal of Social History,” vol. 32, no. 1, 1998, pp. 101–118; M. Cygan, *Polish Women and Emigrant Husband*, [in:] D. Hoerder, I. Blank (eds.), *Roots of the Transplanted*, vol. 1, Columbia University Press, Boulder–New York 1994, pp. 359–374; A. Walaszek, *Polskie emigrantki w mieście amerykańskim*, “Przegląd Polonijny,” vol. 26, no. 2, 2000.

<sup>113</sup> J.D. Gould, *European Inter-Continental Emigration, 1815–1914: Patterns and Causes*, “Journal of European Economic History,” vol. 8, 1979, pp. 604–607; *idem*, *European Inter-Continental Emigration. The Road Home: Return Migration from the U.S.A.*, “Journal of European Economic History,” vol. 9, 1980, p. 60; A. Walaszek, *Reemigracja ze Stanów Zjednoczonych do Polski po I wojnie światowej, 1919–1924*, PWN, Warszawa–Kraków 1983; M. Wyman, *op.cit.*

“American houses” or “Brazilian houses.” Diaspora communities helped in various ways. Monetary remittances were the most important ones.<sup>114</sup> In 1902, money orders sent to Galicia equaled USD 3.5 million. Returnees brought an additional USD 4 million with them. USD 3.5 million was sent to Russian Poland. PLN 2 million arrived in letters.<sup>115</sup> The role of returns or remittances sent/brought to Portugal is also hard to overestimate. It meant a big help for the state budget deficit but significant for families first of all. Helen Graham wrote:

tentative evidence, estimates suggest that for the first two decades of the century [20<sup>th</sup>] remittances from Brazil [...] amounted to between about 20 and 30 million mil réis, or about GBP 3 million [...]. Between 1900 and 1920, a total of about 115,000 people are reported to have emigrated from Portugal to all destinations. Supposing that each of those persons left a family behind, then the average remittances received by a family of an emigrant would have been equal to about 60 Portuguese mil réis, about two-thirds of a single industrial worker’s average annual wage in that period.<sup>116</sup>

Villages in both countries just depended on migrations. But – both in Poland and Portugal – only a few returnees ended up as wealthy people.<sup>117</sup>

Formation of their own enclaves abroad was necessary, considering the difficulties which the immigrants encountered.<sup>118</sup> Poles lived next to the other immigrants from Central-Europe. They met dislike, sometimes opened hostility. This was particularly important in working places. “Aliens,” “Hunkies” received badly paid jobs and were treated with disdain.<sup>119</sup> They could take the lowest positions.<sup>120</sup>

The Portuguese in Brazil encountered dislike and disdain as well. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century antagonisms were noted between Brazilian merchants and European capitalists who came to the country. The later ones were hated, similarly to Spanish in Mexico. The

<sup>114</sup> A. Chętnik, *O Kurpiach*, Poznań–Lublin 1919, p. 46. In Polish literature one can still find the term “emigration loss” – E. Kołodziej, *Emigracja...*, p. 11; M. Wyman, *op.cit.*, pp. 127–129.

<sup>115</sup> E. Morawska, *Labor Migrations...*, pp. 257–263; A. Walaszek, *Działalność przekazowo-pieniężna polskich konsulatów w Stanach Zjednoczonych w latach 1919–1922*, “*Studia Historyczne*,” no. 3, 1981, pp. 409–421; B. Murdzek, *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought 1870–1914*, Columbia University Press, New York 1977, pp. 152–153; F. Bujak, *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Stosunki...*, pp. 49–50; *idem*, *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Rozwój...*, p. 105; E. Morawska, ‘*For Bread with Butter*’..., p. 388; T. Radzik, *Spoleczno-ekonomiczne aspekty stosunku Polonii amerykańskiej do Polski po I wojnie światowej*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1989.

<sup>116</sup> H. Graham, *Money and Migration in Modern Portugal: An Economist’s View*, [in:] D. Higgs (ed.), *Portuguese Migration...*, pp. 81–96; C. Brettell, *Leaving...*, pp. 74–76; D. Baines, *op.cit.*, p. 533.

<sup>117</sup> A. Walaszek, *Reemigracja...*, *passim*.

<sup>118</sup> L. Krzywicki, *Za Atlantykiem. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce*, druk K. Kowalewski, Warszawa 1895, p. 115; A. Walaszek, *Lokatorzy slumsów...*, pp. 5–24.

<sup>119</sup> N.Z. Davis, Y. Kaplan, *Introduction: General Approaches to Diasporas*, [in:] *18<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, 27 August to 3 September 1995, Actes/Proceedings*, Département d’histoire, Université du Québec, Montreal 1995, pp. 116–117.

<sup>120</sup> A. Walaszek, *Życie na pograniczu i “życie pomiędzy”*. Polacy w zagłębiu antracytowym w Luzerne County, Pensylwania, z innymi grupami w tle (1753–1902), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011, pp. 95–97.



material success of the immigrants was envied. Bad memories of the former colonial ruler have also lasted long. The Portuguese were accused to being involved in the revolution in Pernambuco (1848–1849). Xenophobia was a reaction to the domination of foreign merchants in Recife. The Portuguese colony in Rio was viewed as conservative and antagonized with the Brazilian Jacobin movement. However, “proletarian nationalism,” which developed against the Poles and Portuguese in France, did not develop here.<sup>121</sup>

Diasporic groups also faced discrimination in other spheres, outside the working place and later.<sup>122</sup> In the second half of the 1930s, by applying the idea of nation unity and building *Estado Novo* president Getulio Vargas attacked the cultural autonomy of ethnic enclaves and liquidated various aspect of diasporic life. In 1938, the Brazilian authorities were convinced that Poland, Germany and Italy wanted to apply policy similar to the one the Third Reich applied to Czechoslovakia in Brazil. Polish and Italian communities faced persecutions of their culture, language, organizations. Education in Polish ethnic schools was attacked in Argentina as well.<sup>123</sup>

Emigrants longed for “private homelands,” but in a foreign territories developed supra-local identity.<sup>124</sup> Abroad they gained national consciousness, discovered their own distinctiveness and national identity.<sup>125</sup> Such a process was observed among Poles from Prussian Poland who emigrated to the Ruhr valley in Germany or to Berlin. When they arrived there, they “originally they lacked feelings of national belonging” noticed Krystyna Murzynowska.<sup>126</sup> This changed, however, after some years of stay. Migration also has helped the development of national consciousness in Poland.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>121</sup> M. Mörner, *op.cit.*, pp. 75–76; M. Kula, *Historia Brazylii*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1987, p. 75.

<sup>122</sup> L. Olsson, *Labor Migrations as a Prelude to World War I*, “International Migration Review,” vol. 30, Winter 1996, pp. 876–877, 883–892.

<sup>123</sup> M. Krasicki, *Sytuacja Polonii brazylijskiej w dobie ustaw nacjonalistycznych prezydenta Getulio Vargasa*, [in:] M. Kula (ed.), *Dzieje Polonii...*, pp. 411–441. Also I. Klarner-Kosińska, *Polonia w Buenos Aires*, [in:] M. Kula (ed.), *Dzieje Polonii...*, pp. 224–225, 233; *eadem*, *Polonia w Montevideo*, [in:] M. Kula (ed.), *Dzieje Polonii...*, p. 312; R. Stemplowski, *Historyczny kontekst osadnictwa rolnego w Misiones. Rozważania wstępne*, [in:] R. Stemplowski (ed.), *Słowianie w argentyńskim Misiones, 1897–1947*, PWN, Warszawa, 1991 p. 33; M. Kula, *Polonia brazylijska*, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1981, pp. 163–164, 176.

<sup>124</sup> H. Kubiak, J.J. Wiatr, *Tendencje dominujące procesu formowania się i przeobrażeń Polonii amerykańskiej*, [in:] T. Gromada, E. Kusielewicz, H. Kubiak (eds.), *Polonia amerykańska. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Ossolineum, Warszawa 1988, pp. 775–779; E. Morawska, *Changing Images of the Old Country in the Development of Ethnic Identity among East European Immigrants, 1888s–1930s: A Comparison of Jewish and Slavic Representations*, “YIVO Annual of the Social Science,” vol. 29, Part 1: *Going Home*, 1994, p. 283; J. Molenda, *Chłopi, naród, niepodległość. Kształtowanie się postaw narodowych i obywatelskich chłopów w Galicji i Królestwie Polskim w przededniu odrodzenia Polski*, Neriton, Warszawa 1999, pp. 34–38.

<sup>125</sup> J. Bukowski, *Życiorys tulacza syna Podhala*, mss, Pamiętniki wiejskich działaczy społecznych, Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, Warszawa, pp. 1–2.

<sup>126</sup> K. Murzynowska, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>127</sup> J. Molenda, *op.cit.*, pp. 39–40.



Peasant politicians,<sup>128</sup> researchers observed that.<sup>129</sup> Because politically Poland did not exist groups in diaspora supported and organized nationalistic political activity.<sup>130</sup> In the United States such was the goal and role of the Polish National Alliance which supported Polish political activism among emigrants. Poles in America were called “the fourth district [partition],” communities in Parana were sometimes called “the fifth.”<sup>131</sup> The patriotic enthusiasm had its peak in 1910, when the Polish National Congress in was organized Washington and during the following war years, when efforts to struggle for the restauration of Polish independence were undertaken.<sup>132</sup>

Such trends did not occur in the case of the Portuguese diaspora. The national awareness of the Portuguese was older and deeply rooted. The Portuguese state existed and was a point of reference. It also offered support to the diasporic people. Links between the diaspora and the country had never been swinging, whereas during the 1930s Poles in the US disassociated themselves with Polish politics and with Warsaw.<sup>133</sup>

### The Polish “Colonial” Postscript after the War

Between the wars possibilities to emigrate to the US ended. The Polish government looked for new destinations for migrants. Here the Portuguese territories and Polish plans met. The Alliance of Colonial Pioneers, River and Sea League (predecessors of the Sea and Colonial League) considered Angola as a destination for Polish immigration. Kazimierz Głuchowski started negotiations with the Portuguese government about the possibility of a Polish settlement in that colony. He was very optimistic: “Angola is a good country for Polish rural colonization and settlement,” he wrote.<sup>134</sup> The idea was

<sup>128</sup> J. Stapiński, *Pamiętnik*, K. Dunin-Wąsowicz (ed.), Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1959, p. 254; W. Witos, *Jedna wieś*, PSL, Związek Przyjaciół Wsi Polskiej w Ameryce, Chicago 1955, p. 44; J. Putek, *Miłośniwi panowie i krnąbrni poddani*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1959, pp. 389–390.

<sup>129</sup> J. Borkowski, *Problemy badawcze historii chłopów polskich w epoce kapitalizmu*, “Dzieje Najnowsze,” no. 1, 1976, pp. 67–68; T. Łepkowski, *Naród polski w epoce rozbiorów*, [in:] R. Heck (ed.), *Studia nad rozwojem narodowym Polaków, Czechów i Słowaków*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1976, pp. 62–63. Z.T. Wierzbicki, *Na drogach rozwoju świadomości narodowej ludności wiejskiej w Małopolsce na przykładzie wsi Żmijąca*, “Przegląd Socjologiczny,” vol. 16, 1961, pp. 122–123, 136; J. Molenda, *op.cit.*

<sup>130</sup> K. Groniowski, *Polska emigracja...*, pp. 211–213; H. Florkowska-Frančić, *Muzeum Narodowe w Raperswilu i chłopci galicyjscy. Między państwem “duchowym” i państwem rzeczywistym*, [in:] J.K. Janczak (ed.), *Chłopi a państwo*, Instytut Historii UŁ, Łódź 1996, pp. 166–167.

<sup>131</sup> K. Groniowski, “Czwarta dzielnica”. *Zadania Polonii amerykańskiej wobec kraju (do 1918 r.)*, “Przegląd Zachodni,” vol. 39, no. 1, 1983, pp. 27–42.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 30–39; M.B. Biskupski, *American Polonia and the Resurrection of Independent Poland, 1914–1919*, The Polish Studies Program, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain 1989, pp. 3–4.

<sup>133</sup> C. Lusiński, *II Rzeczpospolita a Polonia, 1922–1939*, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN, Warszawa 1998, pp. 98–107.

<sup>134</sup> K. Głuchowski, *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji*, Warszawa n.d. The most elaborate and recent work on this subject is M.A. Kowalski, *Dyskurs kolonialny w Drugiej Rzeczpospolitej*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2010.

propagated broadly in Poland. On December 14, 1928 a group people with Franciszek Łyp left Poland to investigate possibilities in Africa. Łyp published his reflections and observations in periodicals titled "Morze" ["The Sea"] and "Wychodźca" ["The Emigrant"] and in separate books. He argued that in Africa "white men" use autochthons to conduct physical labor. Thus, the "colonization of plantations," not in farms would be possible there.<sup>135</sup> To be successful the action required capital. Official negotiations started in 1929 in Lisbon. The Polangola Corporation was created, which would organize trade between Poland, Portugal and the colonies. Polangola would also arrange Polish settlements in the Portuguese colony. Count Michał Zamoyski travelled to Africa as a representative of Polangola. The Polish press propagated the idea of sending emigrants to Angola with great enthusiasm. The gossip that the Polish plans include the purchase of the entire area caused the Portuguese government to take an immediate and strong reaction. Lisbon withdrew from the secret colonization proviso, which was signed with Poland in 1929.<sup>136</sup>

The plans to colonize Portuguese colonies in Africa entangled in the meanders of world politics. Poland raised the issue in the League of Nations in the thirties. In June 1936, Apoloniusz Zarychta announced that Poland would again try to discuss the idea of the creation of Polish emigrant settlements in Angola, Tanganyika and Ruanda on the international forum. More and more sharp and aggressive Italian and German utterances about the redistribution of colonies encouraged Polish diplomacy. The idea of Polish colonization in Angola resurrected.<sup>137</sup> In 1937, the Sea and Colonial League drew a new plan regarding Portuguese East Africa (in 1939, the Sea and Colonial League had one million members in 300 division). The possibility of purchasing "Lacerda," with an area of 20,000 hectares was discussed. The plan was modified in 1938. The idea was supported by an engineer Emil Surycz, a farm owner in Mozambique, who searched for copper and gold resources as well. The concept of expansion in Mozambique again inflamed journalists. Before the war, however, only 16–20 Poles (farmers and planters) lived in Angola (north of the Huamba region). Colonization plans for Mozambique remained phantasmagoric.<sup>138</sup> A positively marked colonial discourse, which glorified Polish achievements, was very clear in the unfinished compendium, edited by Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski: *Polska i Polacy w cywilizacjach świata. Słownik encyklopedyczny* [Poland and Poles in the world civilizations].<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> F. Łyp, *Angola*, "Wychodźca," no. 44, 1929, pp. 5–6; *idem*, *W sprawie kolonizacji Angoli*, "Wychodźca," no. 12, 1930, p. 10.

<sup>136</sup> T. Białas, *Liga Morska i Kolonialna, 1930–1939*, Wydawnictwo Morskie, Gdańsk 1983, pp. 188–191; M.A. Kowalski, *Kolonie Rzeczypospolitej*, Bellona, Warszawa 2005, pp. 303, 316, 321–323.

<sup>137</sup> E. Kołodziej, *Wychodźstwo...*, pp. 236–247.

<sup>138</sup> T. Białas, *op.cit.*, pp. 191–192; S. Gołąbek, *Związki Polski i Polaków z Afryką*, PWN, Warszawa–Łódź 1978, p. 66.

<sup>139</sup> W. Pobóg-Malinowski (ed.), *Polska i Polacy w cywilizacjach świata. Słownik encyklopedyczny*, vol. 1: *Terytoria*, no. 1–4, Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, Warszawa 1939; M.A. Kowalski, *Kolonie...*, p. 323.

# Bibliography

- IV Zjazd Prawników i Ekonomistów Polskich*, "Czasopismo Prawnicze i Ekonomiczne," 1907
- 18<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, 27 August to 3 September 1995, Actes/Proceedings*, Département d'histoire, Université du Québec Montreal 1995.
- Bade K.J., Emmer P.C., Lucassen L., Oltmer J. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011.
- Baganha M.I., *Portuguese Emigration to the United States*, Garland Publ., New York 1990.
- Baines D., *European Emigration, 1815–1930: Looking at the Emigration Decision Again*, "The Economic History Review," vol. 47, no. 3, 1994.
- Bakula B., *Kolonialne i postkolonialne aspekty polskiego dyskursu kresoznawczego (zarys problematyki)*, "Teksty Drugie," no. 6, 2003.
- Barrett J.R., *Work and Community in the Jungle: Chicago Packinghouse Workers, 1894–1922*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana–Chicago 1987.
- Bazyłow L., *Polacy w Petersburgu*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1984.
- Białas T., *Liga Morska i Kolonialna, 1930–1939*, Wydawnictwo Morskie, Gdańsk 1983.
- Biskupski M.B., *American Polonia and the Resurrection of Independent Poland, 1914–1919*, The Polish Studies Program, Central Connecticut State University, New Britain 1989.
- Borkowski J., *Problemy badawcze historii chłopów polskich w epoce kapitalizmu*, "Dzieje Najnowsze," no. 1, 1976.
- Bovenkerk F., *The Sociology of Return Migration: A Bibliographic Essay*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, Research Group for European Migration Problems, Publications, vol. 20, The Hague 1973.
- Braudel F., *Civilization and Capitalism, 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century*, vol. 2: *The Wheels of Commerce*, Harper and Row, Cambridge 1979.
- Brettell C., *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1986.
- Brożek A., *Polonia amerykańska, 1854–1939*, Interpress, Warszawa 1977.
- Bujak F., *Kilka przyczynków i sprostowań do pracy dra St. Hupki o rozwoju stosunków włościańskich w Galicji Zachodniej (pow. Ropczyce)*, reprint from "Ekonomista," 1913.
- Bujak F., *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Rozwój od roku 1900 do roku 1911*, G. Gebethner, Lwów 1914.
- Bujak F., *Maszkienice, wieś powiatu brzeskiego. Stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne*, G. Gebethner, Kraków 1902.
- Bujak F., *Żmiąca, wieś powiatu limanowskiego. Stosunki gospodarczo-społeczne*, G. Gebethner, Kraków 1903.
- Bukowczyk J.J. (ed.), *Polish Americans and Their History: Community, Culture, and Politics*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1996.
- Bukowski J., *Życiorys tułacza syna Podhala*, mss, Pamiętniki wiejskich działaczy społecznych, Instytut Gospodarstwa Społecznego, Warszawa.
- Caro L., *Emigracja i polityka emigracyjna ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem ziem polskich*, Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, Poznań, 1914.
- Caro L., *Nasi wychodźcy zamorscy*, "Przegląd Powszechny," vol. 25, no. 99, 1908.
- Chełmicki T., *Powrót wychodźców z Francji w latach 1935 i 1936*, "Statystyka Pracy," vol. 16, no. 4, 1937.

- Chętnik A., *O Kurpiach*, Poznań–Lublin 1919.
- Cohen R., *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 1997.
- Cohen R., *The New Helots: Migrants in the International Division of Labour*, Gower, Aldershot 1987.
- Cohen R. (ed.), *Cambridge Survey of World Migrations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995.
- Collomp C., *Immigrants, Labor Markets, and the State, a Comparative Approach: France and the United States, 1880–1930*, “The Journal of American History,” vol. 86, no 1, 1999.
- Czuła M., *W niewoli życia i polityki. Pamiętnik*, Ossolineum Library, Wrocław, mss. no. 124000 II.
- Daniels R., *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, Harper Perennial, New York 1991.
- Duda-Dziewierz K., *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babice pow. rzeszowskiego*, Polski Instytut Socjologiczny, Warszawa–Poznań, 1938.
- Emigration from Northern, Central, and Southern Europe: Theoretical and Methodological Principles of Research*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Polonijne,” no. 8, 1984.
- Ferro M., *Historia kolonializmu*, trans. M. Czajka, Nowa Marianna, Warszawa 1997.
- Fierich J., *Przeszłość wsi powiatu ropczyckiego w ustach ich mieszkańców*, Nakładem Koła T.S.L., Ropczyce 1936.
- Fiut A., *Polonizacja? Kolonizacja?*, “Teksty Drugie,” no. 6, 2003.
- Fogelson S., *Polacy we Francji w 1931 r.*, “Statystyka Polski,” vol. 16, no. 4, 1937.
- Freyre G., *Panowie i niewolnicy*, PIW, Warszawa 1985.
- Gabaccia D.R., *From the Other Side: Women, Gender, and Immigrant Life in the U.S. 1820–1990*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1994.
- Gabaccia D.R., *Italy's Many Diasporas*, University of Washington Press, Seattle 2000.
- Gabaccia D.R. (ed.), *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States*, Praeger, Westport 1992.
- Gandhi L., *Teoria postkolonialna. Wprowadzenie krytyczne*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 2008.
- Gasiński T., *Polish Contract Labor in Hawaii, 1896–1899*, “Polish American Studies,” vol. 39, no. 1, 1982.
- Gerstle G., *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914–1960*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1989.
- Głuchowski K., *Angola jako teren ewentualnej polskiej kolonizacji*, Warszawa n.d.
- Gmurczyk-Wrońska M., *Polacy we Francji w latach 1871–1914. Społeczność polska i jej podstawy materialne*, Neriton, Warszawa 1996.
- Gołąbek S., *Związki Polski i Polaków z Afryką*, PWN, Warszawa–Łódź 1978.
- Gosk H., Karwowska B. (eds.), *(Nie)obecność. Pominięcia i przemilczenia w narracjach XX wieku*, Elipsa, Warszawa 2008.
- Gould J.D., *European Inter-Continental Emigration, 1815–1914: Patterns and Causes*, “Journal of European Economic History,” vol. 8, 1979.
- Gould J.D., *European Inter-Continental Emigration. The Road Home: Return Migration from the U.S.A.*, “Journal of European Economic History,” vol. 9, 1980.
- Green N.L., Weil F. (dir.), *Citoyenneté et émigration. Les politiques du départ*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris 2006.
- Grochowski K., *Polacy na Dalekim Wschodzie, s.n.*, Harbin 1928.

- Gromada T., Kisielewicz E., Kubiak H. (eds.), *Polonia amerykańska. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Ossolineum, Warszawa 1988.
- Groniowski K., "Czwarta dzielnica". *Zadania Polonii amerykańskiej wobec kraju (do 1918 r.)*, "Przegląd Zachodni," vol. 39, no. 1, 1983.
- Groniowski K., *Gorączka brazylijska*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny," no. 2, 1967.
- Groniowski K., *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii, 1871–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1972.
- Heck R. (ed.), *Studia nad rozwojem narodowym Polaków, Czechów i Słowaków*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1976.
- Higgs D. (ed.), *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective*, The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Toronto 1990.
- Hoerder D., *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millenium*, Duke University Press, Durnham–London 2002.
- Hoerder D. (ed.), *Labor Migrations in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes During the Period of Industrialization*, Greenwood Press, Westport–London 1985.
- Hoerder D., Blank I. (eds.), *Roots of the Transplanted*, vol. 1, Columbia University Press, Boulder–New York 1994.
- Hoerder D., Moch L.P. (eds.), *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives*, Northeastern University Press, Boston 1996.
- Hoerder D., Nagler J. (eds.), *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective, 1820–1939*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge–New York 1995.
- Hoerder D., Roessler H. (eds.), *Distant Magnets: Expectations and Realities in the Immigrant Experience, 1840–1930*, Holmes and Meier, New York–London 1992.
- Hornbeck Tanner H. (ed.), *The Settling of North America: The Atlas of the Great Migrations into North America from the Ice Age to the Present*, Macmillan, New York 1995.
- Hupka S., *Przyczynek do metodyczno-naukowej strony badań stanu i rozwoju współczesnej wsi polskiej w Galicji Zachodniej*, Księgarnie Spółki Wydawnictw Polskich, Kraków 1912.
- Hupka S., *Über die Entwicklung der westgalizischen Dorfzustände in der zweiten Hälfte des 19 Jahrhunderts*, P. Mitřęga, Teschen 1910.
- Janczak J.K. (ed.), *Chłopi a państwo*, Instytut Historii UŁ, Łódź 1996.
- Janowska H., *Polska emigracja zarobkowa we Francji 1919–1939*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1965.
- Kaczyńska E. (ed.), *Polska klasa robotnicza. Studia historyczne*, vol. 10, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1983.
- Kantor R., *Między Zaborowem a Chicago. Kulturowe konsekwencje istnienia zbiorowości imigrantów z parafii zaborowskiej w Chicago i jej kontaktów z rodzinnymi wsiami*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1990.
- Kieniewicz J., *Faktoria i forteca. Handel pieprzem na Oceanie Indyjskim i ekspansja portugalska w XVI w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1970.
- Klarner I., *Emigracja z Królestwa Polskiego do Brazylii w latach 1890–1914*, Ossolineum, Warszawa 1975.
- Klimaszewski B., *Pod znakiem potu, łez i dolara. Polonia amerykańska w zwierciadle literatury polskiej*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1990.

- Knauf D., Moreno B. (eds.), *Leaving Home: Migration Yesterday and Today*, Temmen, Bremen 2010.
- Kocik L., *Polski farmer w Ameryce. Studium na przykładzie stanu Wisconsin w USA*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1990.
- Kolonia polska w Indiach Holenderskich, "Wychodźca," no. 22, 1922.
- Kołodziej E., *Dzieje Polonii 1918–1939*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1991.
- Kołodziej E., *Wychodźstwo zarobkowe z Polski 1918–1939. Studia nad polityką emigracyjną II Rzeczypospolitej*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1982.
- Koseski A. (ed.), *Emigracja z ziem polskich w XX wieku. Drogi awansu emigrantów*, Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, Pułtusk 1998.
- Kościelecka S., *Dzieje Polonii w Danii w latach 1892–1940*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, Szczecin 1983.
- Kowalski G.M., *Przestępstwa emigracyjne w Galicji 1897–1918. Z badań nad dziejami polskiego wychodźstwa*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2003.
- Kowalski M.A., *Kolonie Rzeczypospolitej*, Bellona, Warszawa 2005.
- Kozłowski J., *Rozwój organizacji społeczno-narodowych wychodźstwa polskiego w Niemczech 1870–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1987.
- Kraszewski P., *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w latach 1870–1939. Praktyka i refleksja*, Zakład Badań Narodowościowych, Poznań 1995.
- Kreienbrink-Herrero A., *Aspectos da inmigración española, portuguesa e iberoamericana en Alemaña*, "Estudios Migratorios," no. 10, 2000.
- Krzywicki L., *Za Atlantykiem. Wrażenia z podróży po Ameryce*, druk K. Kowalewski, Warszawa 1895.
- Kubat D. (ed.), *The Politics of Return: International Return Migration in Europe*, Centro Studi Emigrazione, Rome–New York 1984.
- Kula M. (ed.), *Dzieje Polonii w Ameryce Łacińskiej*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1983.
- Kula M., *Historia Brazylii*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1987.
- Kula M., *Polonia brazylijska*, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1981.
- Kula M., *Polono-Brazylijczycy i parę kwestii im bliskich*, Muzeum Historii Ruchu Ludowego, Warszawa 2012.
- Kula M., *Ruchy migracyjne a ruchy protestu społecznego*, "Historyka," vol. 13, 1983.
- Kula W., Assorodobraj-Kula N., Kula M. (eds.), *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych, 1890–1891*, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1973.
- Kulczycki J.J., *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement: Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871–1914*, Berg, Oxford–Providence 1994.
- Lamphere L., *From Working Daughters to Working Mothers: Immigrant Women in a New England Industrial Community*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 1987.
- Later-Chodyłowa E., *Organizacja polskiego ruchu emigracyjnego do Danii w latach 1892–1929*, "Przegląd Zachodni," vol. 29, no. 1, 1983.
- Lucassen L., *The Immigrant Treat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana–London 2005.
- Lucassen J., Lucassen L. (eds.), *Migration. Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Peter Lang, Bern 1997.



- Lusiński C., *II Rzeczpospolita a Polonia, 1922–1939*, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Historii PAN, Warszawa 1998.
- Łukawski Z., *Ludność polska w Rosji 1863–1914*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1978.
- Łyp F., *Angola*, „Wychodźca,” no. 44, 1929.
- Maciszewski J., *Polska a Moskwa 1603–1618. Opinie i stanowiska szlachty polskiej*, PWN, Warszawa 1968.
- Maksymowicz A., *Emigracja z pogranicza Brandenburgii, Śląska i Wielkopolski do Australii Południowej w latach 1838–1914*, Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, Zielona Góra 2011.
- Maksymowicz A. (ed.), *Emigracja z Kłępska i okolic do Australii w 1838 r.*, Muzeum Ziemi Lubuskiej, Sulechów 2009.
- Małowist M., *Europa a Afryka Zachodnia w dobie wczesnej ekspansji kolonialnej*, PWN, Warszawa 1969.
- Małowist M., *Europa i jej ekspansja XIV–XVII w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1993.
- Małowist M., *Konkwistadorzy portugalscy*, PIW, Warszawa 1976.
- Mauro F., *Życie codzienne w Brazylii za czasów Pedra II 1831–1889*, trans. E. Bąkowska, PIW, Warszawa 1993.
- Micińska M., *Zdrada córka nocy. Pojęcie zdrady narodowej w świadomości Polaków w latach 1861–1914*, Sic!, Warszawa 1998.
- Między konfrontacją a współpracą. Historia – polityka – migracje. Księga pamiątkowa na upamiętnienie 50-lecia pracy naukowej Profesora Jana E. Zamojskiego*, Neriton, Warszawa 2009.
- Misińska M., *Podhale dawne i współczesne. Wybrane zagadnienia*, „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi, Seria Etnograficzna,” no. 15, Łódź 1971.
- Moch L.P., *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992.
- Mocyk A., *Piekło czy raj? Obraz Brazylii w piśmiennictwie polskim w latach 1864–1939*, Universitas, Kraków 2005.
- Molenda J., *Chłopi, naród, niepodległość. Kształtowanie się postaw narodowych i obywatelskich chłopów w Galicji i Królestwie Polskim w przededniu odrodzenia Polski*, Neriton, Warszawa 1999.
- Morawska E., *Changing Images of the Old Country in the Development of Ethnic Identity among East European Immigrants, 1888s–1930s: A Comparison of Jewish and Slavic Representations*, „YIVO Annual of the Social Science,” vol. 29, Part 1: *Going Home*, 1994.
- Morawska E., *‘For Bread with Butter’: Life-Words of Peasant Immigrants from East Central Europe, 1880–1914*, „Journal of Social History,” vol. 17, no. 3, 1984.
- Morawska E., *Labor Migrations of Poles in the Atlantic World Economy, 1880–1914*, „Comparative Studies in Society and History,” vol. 31, no. 3, 1989.
- Morawska E., *Motywy awansu w systemie wartości polskich imigrantów w Stanach Zjednoczonych na przełomie wieku. O potrzebie relatywizmu kulturowego w badaniach historycznych*, „Przegląd Polonijny,” vol. 4, no. 1, 1978.
- Możliwości emigracyjne w Indiach Holenderskich*, manuscript, no. 1612, Ambasada polska w Berlinie, Archiwum Akt Nowych, Warszawa.
- Mörner M., *Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 1988.

- Murdzek B., *Emigration in Polish Social-Political Thought 1870–1914*, Columbia University Press, New York 1977.
- Niemyska M., *Wychodźcy po powrocie do kraju*, Drukarnia Techniczna, Warszawa 1936.
- Nugent W., *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1992.
- Okołowicz J., *Wychodźstwo i osadnictwo polskie przed wojną światową*, Warszawa 1920.
- Olsson L., *Labor Migrations as a Prelude to World War I*, "International Migration Review," vol. 30, Winter 1996.
- Pilch A. (ed.), *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)*, PWN, Warszawa 1984.
- Pobóg-Malinowski W. (ed.), *Polska i Polacy w cywilizacjach świata. Słownik encyklopedyczny*, vol. 1: *Terytoria*, no. 1–4, Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa, Warszawa 1939.
- Polacy na Sumatrze*, "Przegląd Emigracyjny," no. 20, 1894.
- Polacy na wyspach filipińskich*, "Wychodźca," no. 33, 1926.
- Polska klasa robotnicza. Zarys dziejów*, vol. 1, part. 3, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1978.
- Ponty J., *Les Polonais en France. De Louis XV à nos jours*, éditions du Rocher, Monaco 2008.
- Praszałowicz D., *Polacy w Berlinie. Strumienie migracyjne i społeczności imigracyjne. Przegląd badań*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2010.
- Praszałowicz D., *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie na obczyźnie. Polscy i niemieccy imigranci w Milwaukee, Wisconsin (USA) 1860–1920*, Universitas, Kraków 1999.
- Pula J.S., Dziedzic E.E., *United We Stand: The Role of Polish Workers in the New York Mills Textile Strikes, 1912 and 1916*, Columbia University Press, New York 1990.
- Putek J., *Miłośniwi panowie i krnąbrni poddani*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1959.
- Radzik T., *Spoleczno-ekonomiczne aspekty stosunku Polonii amerykańskiej do Polski po I wojnie światowej*, Ossolineum, Wrocław–Warszawa 1989.
- Radzilowski J., *Family Labor and Immigrant Success in a Polish American Rural Community, 1883–1905*, "Polish American Studies," vol. 51, no. 2, 1994.
- Reczyńska A., *Emigracja z Polski do Kanady w okresie międzywojennym*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1986.
- Reeder L., *Women in the Classroom: Mass Migration, Literacy, and the Naturalization of Sicilian Women at the Turn of the Century*, "Journal of Social History," vol. 32, no. 1, 1998.
- Rocha-Trinidad M.B., *Brazil and France: An Historical Overview of the Two Main Flows in the Portuguese Diaspora*, "AEMI Journal," vol. 10, 2012.
- Rocha-Trinidad M.B., *Migrations in Portugal*, "AEMI Journal," vol. 2, 2004.
- Rocha-Trinidad M.B., *Portugal: Destination Countries for Emigrants: Immigrants' Countries of Origin*, "AEMI Journal," vol. 3, 2005.
- Salamon M., Strzelczyk J. (eds.), *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i średniowieczu*, Historia Iagiellonica, Kraków 2004.
- Sielski W., *List z wysp filipińskich*, "Wychodźca," no. 52, 1929.
- Sielski W., *Polacy na Filipinach*, "Wychodźca," no. 42, 1928.
- Sowiński M., *Rybna i Kaszów, wsie powiatu krakowskiego*, Ministerstwo Reform Rolnych, Puławy 1928.
- Stapiński J., *Pamiętnik*, K. Dunin-Wąsowicz (ed.), Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warszawa 1959.

- Starczewski M., *Z dziejów emigracji zarobkowej: agenci emigracyjni na ziemiach polskich przed 1914 r.*, "Przegląd Historyczny," vol. 103, no. 1, 2012.
- Steidl A., Ehmer J., Nadel S., Zeitlhofer H., (eds.), *European Mobility: Internal, International, and Transatlantic Moves in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Transkulturelle Perspektiven, vol. 8, V&R unipress, Göttingen 2009.
- Stemplowski R. (ed.), *Polacy, Rusini i Ukraińcy, Argentyńczycy. Osadnictwo w Misiones 1892–2009*, Muzeum Historii Ruchu Ludowego, Warszawa 2011.
- Stemplowski R. (ed.), *Słowianie w argentyńskim Misiones, 1897–1947*, PWN, Warszawa 1991.
- Sulkowski K., *Kolonia polska na Sumatrze*, "Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny," 6.05.1927.
- Szydlowska-Ceglowska B. (ed.), *Polonia w Europie*, Zakład Badań Narodowościowych PAN, Poznań 1992.
- Tazbir J. (ed.), *Polska XVII wieku. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1969.
- Thompson E., *A jednak kolonializm. Uwagi epistemologiczne*, "Teksty Drugie," no. 6, 2011.
- Udziela S., *Lud polski w powiecie ropczyckim*, "Zbiór Wiadomości do Antropologii Krajowej," vol. 14, 1890.
- Walaszek A., *Działalność przekazowo-pieniężna polskich konsulatów w Stanach Zjednoczonych w latach 1919–1922*, "Studia Historyczne," no. 3, 1981.
- Walaszek A., *Lokatorzy slumsów – okolice chicagowskich rzeźni w 1905 roku*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 10, no. 2, 1984.
- Walaszek A., *Migracje i ziemie polskie w dobie masowych wędrówek zarobkowych*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 18, no. 3, 1992.
- Walaszek A., *Migracje, Polonia, Diaspora i metoda porównawcza*, "Historyka," vol. 27, 1997.
- Walaszek A., *Politycy, agenci i chłopci polscy w Kanadzie (przed 1914 r.)*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 28, no. 4, 2004.
- Walaszek A., *Polscy robotnicy praca i związki zawodowe w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki, 1880–1922*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1988.
- Walaszek A., *Polskie emigrantki w mieście amerykańskim*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 26, no. 2, 2000.
- Walaszek A., *Reemigracja ze Stanów Zjednoczonych do Polski po I wojnie światowej, 1919–1924*, PWN, Warszawa–Kraków 1983.
- Walaszek A., *Życie na pograniczu i "życie pomiędzy". Polacy w zagłębiu antracytowym w Luzerne County, Pensylwania, z innymi grupami w tle (1753–1902)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011.
- Walczak W., Łopatecki K. (eds.), *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 3: *Inflanty polskie*, Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, Białystok 2012.
- Wierzbicki Z.T., *Na drogach rozwoju świadomości narodowej ludności wiejskiej w Małopolsce na przykładzie wsi Żmija*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny," vol. 16, 1961.
- Winiarz A., *Działalność Polskiego Komitetu Opiekuńczego w Harbinie*, "Rocznik Polonijny," vol. 5–6, 1984.
- Winiarz A., *Udział Polaków w budowie i eksploatacji kolei wschodniochińskiej*, "Przegląd Polonijny," vol. 19, no. 2, 1993.
- Witos W., *Jedna wieś*, PSL, Związek Przyjaciół Wsi Polskiej w Ameryce, Chicago 1955.
- Wolf E., *Europe and the People Without History*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1982.

- Wrzesiński W. (ed.), *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Polaków w świecie*, part 2, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 1985.
- Wychodźstwo polskie w poszczególnych krajach, MSZ, Warszawa 1926.
- Wyman M., *Round-Trip to America: The Immigrants Return to Europe, 1880–1930*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca–London 1993.
- Yans-McLaughlin V. (ed.), *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York–Oxford 1990.
- Zajas K., *Nieobecna kultura. Przypadek Inflant polskich*, Universitas, Kraków 2008.
- Zamojski J.E. (ed.), *Migracje i społeczeństwo*, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 1995.
- Zawistowicz-Adamska K., *Spółeczność wiejska. Doświadczenia i rozważania z badań terenowych w Zaborowie*, Polski Instytut Służby Społecznej, Warszawa 1958.
- Zechenter W., *Francja dla Francuzów. Walka z robotnikiem polskim we Francji*, “Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny”, no. 335, 4 December 1931.